

The Weary Herakles of Lysippos

CORNELIUS VERMEULE

PLATES 51-55

Abstract

Lysippos created a bronze statue, lifesized or probably larger, of Herakles leaning on his club after supporting the heavens on his shoulders, the apples of the Hesperides in the hand behind his back. The statue was made for Sikyon or Argos, or a copy for each city. The statue must have been cast about the time Alexander the Great died. Early in the Hellenistic period a version was made for Athens, and perhaps around 200 B.C. a baroque styling of the statue was fashioned for Pergamon. The first versions and the later recensions were all copied in various media on scales from colossal to miniature, including coins.

Versions were made for the Greek imperial cities of Asia Minor, and the admiration of Emperor Commodus (about 190) led to statues with the Emperor's features, usually very idealized. The baroque versions, large and small, continued through the era of the Tetrarchs, especially on the coins of Maximianus Herculeus. Toward the end of Antiquity, and sooner, the Weary Herakles became more than just a decorative figure for gymnasia and baths. The Lysippic Herakles stood as a symbol of the cares, imperial, civic, and even spiritual, which the pagan ancients and their Judeo-Christian successors carried on their shoulders.

PROLOGUE

Almost all that antiquity could possibly tell us is known about the ultimate prototype of the Farnese Hercules. The traveler and geographer Pausanias, in the second century A.D., mentions a bronze Herakles by Lysippos in the agora-complex at Sikyon on the northern coast of the Peloponnesus. The antiquarian rhetorician Libanios of Antioch, two centuries later, describes a weary, resting Herakles in loving detail.¹ Such a statue, with the

head modelled to resemble the Roman Emperor Commodus (ruled 178 to 192), was found in the sixteenth century in a garden wall amid the ruins of the imperial palaces on the Palatine Hill in Rome. This version, an overlifesized statue in marble, now in the Palazzo Pitti in Florence, bears the ancient "signature," "Work of Lysippos."² Furthermore, this very statue, or one like it, perhaps the Farnese colossus from the Baths of Caracalla, now in Naples and signed by a certain Glykon of Athens, appears on Roman imperial medallions of Commodus struck in the last two years of his rule, when he was extravagant in his devotion to the cults of the Roman Hercules.³ One of Glykon's Herculesees (there were two of the same size) in the Baths of Caracalla was mentioned in an early (to middle?) third century A.D. papyrus inventory of works of art in the imperial capital.⁴

Given this, and more, information, Franklin Plotinus Johnson, in his definitive study *Lysippos* published in 1928, identified at least fifty marble and bronze statues, torsos and heads based in varying ways on the concept of the aging hero, leaning on his club, over which has been draped the skin of the Nemean lion, Herakles' first and most celebrated labor or conquest.⁵ Certain statues, notably a marble in the Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence, were thought to be "purer" reflections of Lysippos's original statue in bronze, and other statues or statuettes in various media were singled out as later variations or contaminations of the prototype. With these conclusions and deductions as a basis, study of the weary, resting Herakles by Lysippos has not really made much progress in the past forty-

¹ J.J. Pollitt, *The Art of Greece, 1400-31 B.C.* (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey 1964) 148-49.

² E. Sjöqvist, *Lysippos, Lectures in Memory of Louise Taft Semple*, II (University of Cincinnati, Cincinnati, Ohio 1966) 28.

³ C. Vermeule, "Herakles Crowning Himself," *JHS* 77 (1957) 13-15, pl. III, especially no. 12. Medallions of the year 192, Commodus's last, show a Weary Herakles with the Emperor's portrait, as in certain statues to be discussed presently: Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, *Roman Medallions*, Boston 1962, pl. 5, no. 45.

⁴ E. Paribeni, *Sculture greche*, Museo Nazionale Romano (Rome 1954) 25, under no. 26; C. Vermeule, *Essays in Memory of Karl Lehmann* (New York 1964) 370; idem, *The Burlington*

Magazine 110 (1968) 552. Post-Antique history of the Farnese Hercules: H. von Hülsen, *Römische Funde* (Berlin-Frankfurt 1960) 44-51. R. Lanciani reported (*Ancient Rome in the Light of Recent Discoveries* [Boston and New York 1888] 153) that the "torso (was) discovered in the baths of Caracalla, the head at the bottom of a well in Trastevere, the legs in the farm of 'le Frattocchie,' ten miles from Rome." One wonders if the Farnese Hercules is all one statue or if, like the Capitoline Mars Ultor, it might incorporate parts of several replicas.

⁵ F.P. Johnson, *Lysippos* (Durham, North Carolina 1928) 197-200. See also, J.J. Pollitt, *The Ancient View of Greek Art: Criticism, History, and Terminology* (New Haven 1974) 429, and note 9.

five years. The modern monographs have concentrated on limited aspects of the master's style. Certain creations, whether large marbles or tabletop bronzes, all Graeco-Roman copies (or late Hellenistic versions at best), have been singled out at random as statements of what the great Sikyonian master originally intended. All recent writers have been united in commenting on the popularity, influence, and longevity of the Weary Herakles as a key document of ancient sculpture.

Although the statue appears in miniature as a city-badge on a Peloponnesian (Sikyonian or Argive) silver tetradrachm of Alexander the Great, struck before the end of the fourth century B.C., certain critics have argued that the Weary Herakles by Lysippos stood not in the market-place or gymnasium at Sikyon but in or near the Agora of Athens.⁶ Support for these suppositions comes, it is said, from the fact that a small bronze and a small marble version, the former thought to be very "pure" in stylistic terms, have been found in the excavations of the "Greek" or old Agora.⁷ Also the figure appears on Greek imperial (Hadrianic or later) bronze coins of Athens, in a series featuring the famous statues, reliefs, and paintings of the city. Finally, the fact that Pausanias does not describe the bronze Herakles by Lysippos at Sikyon, and Libanios does not state where or by whom was the weary Herakles he praises so lovingly, leaves the matter of original location open to some doubt.

Reexamination of the fifty or so versions listed by F.P. Johnson, plus consideration of evidence brought to light in more recent years, enables one to trace the chronology of the Lysippic Herakles and its later variations from about 320 B.C., when the first statue was made, to the period around A.D. 215, when the Baths of Caracalla in Rome

were more or less completed. Most critics of Greek sculpture are agreed that Lysippos created his life-sized or larger bronze statue (bronze was his favorite medium) relatively late in his long career. Several modern writers have gone further, suggesting that the type of the resting Herakles known from marble copies in Copenhagen, Dresden, Boston, and elsewhere was an earlier creation by Lysippos on the same theme, a bronze fashioned under the influence of Attic or Polykleitan sculpture about 360 B.C.⁸ This Herakles, in turn, relates to the Meleager attributed to Skopas (pl. 51, fig. A), to the Polykleitan or later funerary boy known as the Narcissus, and to the Asklepios of Attic votive reliefs late in the fifth century B.C., or even to the elders, eponymous heroes, or heralds of the Parthenon Frieze.

Selective grouping of the Weary Herakles will reveal that the small statues or statuettes found in Athens derive not from the bronze (or bronzes) by Lysippos but from a Hellenistic modification, doubtless also in bronze, of the lost original. This modernized variation of the master's work has likewise not survived. Despite lack of specific evidence, of a statement giving ironclad information, it may be supposed that the statue by Lysippos was set up in a public place in the city of Sikyon or possibly at Argos. Reasons for these suppositions become clearer when the selective groups of statues are examined.

THE WEARY HERAKLES: CLASSIFICATION INTO FOUR GROUPS

COPIES CLOSEST TO THE ORIGINAL

A line of descent for the Weary Herakles by Lysippos almost to Late Antiquity can be traced in the so-called colossal versions, all of which also exist in the smaller creations made at various times

⁶E.T. Newell, S.P. Noc, *The Alexander Coinage of Sikyon*, Numismatic Studies No. 6 (The American Numismatic Society, New York 1950) 17, no. 27, pls. VIII, XVIII; E. Sjöqvist, *Lysippos*, figs. 17, 18, 19 (the tetradrachm and a detail of the city-badge). Athenian origins of the statue: Al. N. Oikonomides, in *Ancient Coins Illustrating Lost Masterpieces of Greek Art* (Chicago 1964) lvi, 169, pl. 2, etc. A.W. Lawrence, *Greek and Roman Sculpture* (London 1972) 207 (perhaps after the bronze original in the market-place of Sikyon). G. Lippold, *Handbuch der Archäologie*, III, 1 (Munich 1950) 281-82 (perhaps identical with the statue from Sikyon). G.M.A. Richter, *The Sculpture and Sculptors of the Greeks* (New Haven 1950) 290 (may have been the statue mentioned by ancient writers as having stood in the market-place of Sikyon).

⁷D.B. Thompson, *Miniature Sculpture from the Athenian Agora* (Princeton 1959) fig. 57. The other (Argive or Siky-

onian) Herakles of Lysippos could well be the statue shown in the center of a palaestra colonnade, with an Apoxyomenos, on Graeco-Roman "Campana" architectural terracotta plaques, a figure also revised in Pergamene Hellenistic versions as well as, later, in Graeco-Roman copies. See Allard Pierson Museum, *Algemeene Gids* (Amsterdam 1937) 54, under no. 516, pl. XXVIII; *Greek, Etruscan and Roman Art, The Classical Collections of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston* (Boston 1972) 238, 273, fig. 276b.

⁸W. Fuchs, *Die Skulptur der Griechen* (Munich 1969) 101-103, figs. 94 (Copenhagen Herakles), 95 (Farnese Hercules). Libanios (*Ekphraseis*, XV; see above, note 1: J.J. Pollitt, *The Art of Greece*, 148) may give the statue's location, "For Herakles rested there, . . . as Argos received him after he destroyed the lion." He is clearly describing the canonical Weary Herakles, not the earlier (Copenhagen) type.

after their prototypes. The large-scale, marble fragment of head, neck and start of shoulders in Basel is the progenitor of Group One, closest to the original by Lysippos. (pl. 51, fig. 1) This first group also includes (where not specified the statue or statuette has been carved in some form of marble):

1. The majestic scale of the Basel fragment, widely published in all recent works on Greek sculpture and on Lysippos, can best be appreciated in relation to the education of children. M. Schmidt, "Schüler führen Kinder," *Museums Kunde* 1971/1972, fig. p. 87.
2. An unfinished statuette found on Delos, so-called House of Hermes. The lower legs and plinth are missing. J. Marcadé, *BCH* 77 (1953) 564f., no. 10, fig. 54.
3. Torso from Rome, in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, (Sir) John D. Beazley gift. The left arm and upper part of the support (lion's-skin and club) of this small, sensitive statue have been preserved, the right hand holds a single apple behind the back. *Catalogue*, no. 573, pl. 75.
4. Statue from the Gymnasium at Salamis. Three apples appear in the hand behind the right hip. Nicosia, Cyprus Museum. V. Karageorghis, C. Vermeule, *Sculptures from Salamis*, I, Nicosia 1964, 17f, pl. 15. (pl. 51, fig. 2)
5. Approximately lifesized head in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Acc. no. 18.145-14, from Rome. Modelling of hair and beard are vigorous. G.M.A. Richter, *Catalogue of Greek Sculptures*, Cambridge (Mass.) 1954, 77, no. 130. (pl. 51, fig. 3a; pl. 52, fig. 3b)
6. Miniature head in the Metropolitan Museum, no. 131. Acc. no. 23.160.46, from Italy. A fillet adorns the head, and the beard has been exaggerated. Both these heads are G.M.A. Richter, *Catalogue of Greek Sculptures*, pl. XCIX.
7. Head in a private collection in Bavaria. H. (to start of the neck): 0.28 m. The date and details parallel the larger head in New York (no. 5), although here the copyist, a master of the Antonine period of the Roman Empire, has put a good touch of Hellenistic naturalism into the lines of the forehead and the curves of the cheek. He has also used the deep and running drills with vigor and considerable imagination.

THE HELLENISTIC MODIFICATIONS

The overlifesized marble heads at Newby Hall, Yorkshire, and in the British Museum, London, copy a Hellenistic, probably Pergamene variant of about 200 B.C.⁹ They are Numbers 1A and 1B in

⁹ Newby Hall head: *Einzelaufnahmen* (hereafter EA), no. 4935; Ch. Picard, *Manuel d'archéologie grecque, La sculpture*, IV, 2 (Paris 1963) 591, fig. 251. British Museum head: A.H. Smith, *Catalogue of Sculpture* (London 1908) 95-96, no. 1736;

this group. Other examples in Group Two comprise:

2. Head and start of the shoulders in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, Acc. no. 27.122.18. Acquired in Italy, this fragment sets forth the Hellenistic style in a clear, precise manner; the quality is excellent. G.M.A. Richter, *Catalogue of Greek Sculptures*, no. 129, pl. XCVIII. (pl. 52, fig. 4a, b, c)
3. Statue in the Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence. Although patched and restored, this is a good, academic copy of the Hellenistic modification. G.A. Mansuelli, *Galleria degli Uffizi, Le sculpture*, I, Rome 1958, 58f.
4. Statue in the Villa Borghese, Rome. The copyist's work is freer and somewhat rougher than that of the Uffizi statue but the condition of this marble seems somewhat better. F.P. Johnson, *Lysippos*, 198, no. 5, pls. 38f.
5. Composite capital in the Tepidarium of the Baths of Caracalla, Rome. The Herakles is carved as an almost-freestanding statue against the foliage of the architectural background. E. von Mercklin, *Antike Figural kapitelle*, Berlin 1962, 158, no. 385a, pl. 97, fig. 752.
6. Bronze statuette, said to have been found at Alexandria, in the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, Inv. no. 54.1005. Although worn and bereft of major attributes, with a filleted wreath on the head, right foot and plinth missing, this is a careful, well-modelled figure, full of vitality. D.K. Hill, *Catalogue of Classical Bronze Sculpture*, Baltimore 1947, 49f, no. 97, pl. 24.
7. Bronze statuette in the Athenian Agora. Attributes under the left arm and plinth are now missing, but this is a handsome, powerful, and very expressive small figure. D.B. Thompson, *Miniature Sculpture from the Athenian Agora*, Princeton 1959, fig. 57.
8. Bronze statuette from "Terrace-house II" at Pergamon. Although routine work, now having an encrusted surface, this statuette lacks only the club under the lion's-skin to be complete. *AA* 1966, 441, figs. 22a and b.
9. Bronze statuette from Foligno or Perugia. Paris, Musée du Louvre. Long famed for its quality and completeness, this large statuette gives an excellent image of how the Hellenistic (Pergamene) world interpreted Lysippos. C.M. Havelock, *Hellenistic Art*, Greenwich (Conn.) 1969, 119f, fig. 81.
10. Small limestone statue, the head, right arm, legs below the middle of the thighs, the support below this point, and (naturally) the plinth missing. Despite the material, this northwestern

F.P. Johnson, *Lysippos*, 200, no. 1; M. Collignon, *Lysippe* (Paris 1905) 105, pl. 20 (one of the few accessible photographs of this important, very Roman copy).

- provincial version reflects a good model. Valkenburg, found outside the limits of the *castellum*. *FA XVIII-XIX* (1963-1964) (published 1968) 613, no. 9071, pl. XXXVI, fig. 111 (information furnished by L. Byvanck-Quarles van Ufford).
11. Bronze statue in the Villa Torlonia-Albani, Rome, a variant with left arm out, from a Telephos and the hind group (?). The lower arms are said to be wrongly restored, but this may be the copyist's position. M. Bieber, *The Sculpture of the Hellenistic Age*, New York 1961, 37, fig. 79. The latest definitive publication states that only the rock on which the club rests is restored; the copyist, therefore, has borrowed his modifications from the pre-Lysippic (Copenhagen-Dresden-Boston) statue of the Weary Herakles: Hans von Steuben, in W. Helbig, *Führer durch die Sammlungen in Rom*, IV, Tübingen 1972, 253, no. 3279.
 12. Small marble statue, considerably repaired and probably restored, but the classification seems clear. The head *may* belong. Florence, Lung' Arno Corsini, 10. *Einzelaufnahmen*, no. 4074.
 13. Large South Italian terracotta statuette, a showy sculpture, needing careful firsthand examination. London, Art Market. Christie's Sale, 18 October 1972, 33, no. 111, pl. VII.
 14. Bust or fragment of a statue. London, British Museum, no. 1735, the Payne Knight Bequest and presumably from Italy. Nose, right ear, and bust have been restored. A.H. Smith, *Catalogue of Sculpture*, 95, no. 1735, fig. 14.
 15. Bronze statuette. Detroit, Dr. and Mrs. Irving F. Burton. The head is wreathed; the condition is good. D.G. Mitten, S.F. Doeringer, *Master Bronzes*, Cambridge (Mass.) 1969, 249, fig. 238.
 16. Bronze statuette. Musée de Mariemont. This is a minute version of the previous, in fairly good condition. P. Lévêque, *Les antiquités . . . du Musée de Mariemont*, Brussels 1952, 92, no. G68, pl. 32.
 17. Small marble statue. This unusual sculpture from western Asia Minor also provides a link with the sub-group of small statues related to the so-called School of Aphrodisias. Detroit, Institute of Arts. V. Karageorghis, C. Vermeule, *Sculptures from Salamis*, II, Nicosia 1966, p. 19, fig. 6. (pl. 53, fig. 5)
 18. Small marble statue, similar to the marble in Florence, likewise somewhat restored. The wreathed head has been said not to belong.
- Leningrad, Hermitage. O. Waldhauer, *Die antiken Skulpturen der Ermitage*, I, Berlin-Leipzig 1928, 30, no. 11, pls. X, XII.
19. Statuette in Pentelic marble (?). Athens, Agora Museum (S 1241), from a well at the northwest foot of the Areopagus. H.A. Thompson, *Hesperia* 17 (1948) 180, pl. LIX, fig. 2 (reference and photograph kindness of Professor Thompson). Although close in many respects to Group One, the elongation of the beard, the emphasis on the left shoulder, and (least of all) the swordbelt, the complex support place this statuette (H.: 0.37 m.) in Group Two.
 20. Tiny bronze statuette (H.: 0.094 m.). Athens, Agora Museum, from a cistern near the "Theseion," with similar small replicas of other famous Hellenistic statues. T.L. Shear, *Hesperia* 5 (1936) 19, fig. 16. With simplifications around the treetrunk support and removal of the swordbelt (itself an unusual addition), this unrefined but complete statuette follows the same prototype as no. 19, the marble statuette from the Athenian Agora.

THE GROUP OF THE FARNESE HERCULES

Group Three is represented by the Farnese Hercules himself, based on a late Hellenistic or Roman imperial version which, on account of its size or potential for being enlarged, became especially popular in the late Antonine or Severan Age. Since the statue, in the lower courtyard of the National Museum, Athens, from the Antikythera shipwreck cannot be later than between 80 and 65 B.C., this group can be proven to be late Hellenistic rather than purely Antonine or Severan in origin.¹⁰ The large statue from the Roman baths at Argos also falls within this group, close to both the statue from the sea and the namepiece in Naples.¹¹ (pl. 53, fig. 6)

There are other sculptures belonging in the immediate circle of the Farnese Hercules (Number 1 in this group), the Antikythera statue (Number 2), and the figure in the Argos Museum (Number 3). These additions comprise:

4. The figure below Herakles wrestling Antaios in the series of Herakleses in foliate scrollwork on one of the pilasters in the Severan Basilica at

Jundes von Antikythera (AM Beiheft 2) (Berlin 1972) passim.

¹¹ J. Marcadé, *BCH* 81 (1957) 409-13, figs. 2-5. The mere presence of a Herakles (Hercules) of Farnese type in Argos gives that city more connection with the ultimate prototype than most Hellenistic or Greek imperial provincial centers with their random versions in marble of smaller statues or with their souvenir-sized bronze statuettes. Marcadé has observed that this statue from the baths at Argos is identical with the Antikythera marble, a slight variant of the figure in Naples.

¹⁰ G. Bass, *Archaeology under Water* (London 1966) 79-82. G.D. Weinberg, V.R. Grace, G.R. Edwards, H.S. Robinson, P. Throckmorton, E.K. Ralph, "The Antikythera Shipwreck Reconsidered," *TransPhilSoc* 55, Part 3 (1965) 4, 48, etc. S. Karouzou, *National Archaeological Museum, Collection of Sculpture, A Catalogue* (Athens 1968) 74. J.N. Svoronos, *Das Athener Nationalmuseum*, I, *Die Funde von Antikythera* (Athens 1908) 55-62, no. 23, pl. XI, fig. 1 (the Weary Herakles of Lysippos as a statue in Argos). P.C. Bol, *Die Skulpturen des Schiffs-*

THE I

Th
a sma
as a s
Palaz
Lysip
scarce
of th
cules
This
meda
Hera
the B
the v
the d
erus (

¹² A
Marble
Perkins
Statue
Amelun
134, no
dei Cor
W. He
sicher

Waldhauer, *Die Skulpturen*, I, Berlin 1907, X, XII.

Athens, Agora Museum, inv. no. 1017. See also Waldhauer, *op. cit.*, I, 1907, X, XII. H.A. Thompson, *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, IX, fig. 2 (reference of Professor Thompson in many respects of the beard, the hand (least of all) support place this up Two.

194 m.). Athens, near the "Theatrical" of other famous works (Shear, *Hesperia*, 1904, 1, 1, 1). Simplifications and removal of detail (in addition), this statuette follows the marble statuette

the Farnese Hercules, which is characteristic or Roman in its size or especially popular in the age. Since the National Museum of the shipwreck of 165 B.C., this Hellenistic rather than Argive origin.¹⁰ The statue from Argos also follows the marble statuette.¹¹ (pl. 53,

in the imitations (Number 1) and the original (Number 2)

Antaios in the scrollwork on the Basilica at

(1972) *passim*. 2-5. The marble type in Argos is a prototype of the centers with or without their heads, which is derived from that of the Antikythera

Lepcis Magna. A sculptor conditioned by the carvers of sarcophagi has made this reduction. Although damaged here, the head can be visualized from other figures of the hero in these pilasters. M. Squarciapino, *La Scuola di Afrodisia*, Rome 1943, 87-93, pl. XXVIII, a. M. Floriani-Squarciapino, in *Le Rayonnement des civilisations grecque et romaine sur les cultures périphériques*, Paris 1965, I, 230; II, pl. 32, fig. 1, shows the head complete, a diagonal join across the right cheek.

5. Marble statuette in the Museo Biscari, Catania. The figure is very characteristic, despite an extensive list of restorations. G. Libertini, *Il Museo Biscari*, Milan-Rome 1930, 13, no. 21.
6. Small marble statue in the Museum of Archaeology, Leiden. This late Graeco-Roman decorative work has a modern head. J.P.J. Brants, *Description of the Ancient Sculpture*, The Hague 1927, 4, no. 11, pl. VII, no. 11.
7. Bronze statuette found in the sanctuary of Hercules Curinus at Sulmona. The left foot is mutilated, but the figure is a strong one, especially the hero's hair and the lion's mane. Chieti, Archaeological Museum. G. Becatti, *The Art of Ancient Greece and Rome*, New York 1967, 217, fig. 195.
8. Marble statuette in the Musée de Compiègne. All below a line at the knees is restored; the neck is new, but the head appears to belong. É. Espérandieu, *Recueil*, 153, no. 3918; F.P. Johnson, *Lysippos*, 198, no. 10.

THE ROMAN FIGURES, INCLUDING PORTRAITS

The fourth and last group claims the fragment of a small statue in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, as a sub-type and revolves around the Palatine Hill-Palazzo Pitti colossus, "signed" as the work of Lysippos and having a portrait of Commodus scarcely less ideal than the famous half-figure bust of the Emperor Commodus (180 to 192) as Hercules in the Palazzo dei Conservatori in Rome. This group is documented from the large bronze medallions depicting Commodus as the Weary Herakles. While hardly a significant work of art, the Boston Herakles of the latest Lysippic type has the virtue of being totally an expression of its age, the decades when Commodus and Septimius Severus (193 to 211) made the cult of Herakles an in-

¹² Accession no. 76.738. H.: 0.15 m. L. (of face): 0.10 m. Marble seemingly from Western Asia Minor. Gift of C.C. Perkins. C. Vermeule, *AJA* 68 (1964) 331, pl. 106, fig. 18. Statue in Florence, Palazzo Pitti, from the Palatine Hill: W. Amelung, *Führer durch die Antiken in Florenz* (Munich 1897) 134, no. 186. Bust of Commodus as Hercules in Rome, Palazzo dei Conservatori, from the imperial gardens on the Esquiline: W. Helbig, *Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen klassischer Altertümer in Rom*, II (Tübingen 1966) 306-307, no.

strument of Roman imperial, pan-Mediterranean policy, a fact reflected in the major arts such as statuary and sarcophagus reliefs, and on coins. The fragment, presumably from Rome, certainly from Italy, has been broken or cut off and dressed (perhaps in post-antique times) irregularly through the upper shoulders. The surfaces are somewhat weathered.¹² (pl. 53, fig. 7a, b)

The drilling of the eyes, which is undoubtedly ancient, indicates a date in the second or third centuries A.D., probably between about 190 and 210. Like the famous Farnese Hercules in Naples, this small statue probably stems from the late Hellenistic to Antonine baroque recasting of Pergamene creations in the spirit of Lysippos or other fourth century masters. Like the Palazzo Pitti statue from the Palatine Hill, the cult of Divus Commodus has influenced the shape of the head, although this fragment cannot be classed as an ideal portrait. In the Antonine period double- and triple-sized copies (like the Farnese Hercules) were made to suit the grand niches of Roman baths and basilicas. Reduced (half and third-size) copies such as this were also turned out for domestic shrines, villa gardens, fountain-houses, and other areas having small architectural or tablet settings.

SMALL STATUES FOR ARCHITECTURAL SETTINGS: A SUB-GROUP FROM SOUTHWEST ASIA MINOR

With the addition of a wreath above the brow, the head of the fragment in Boston as part of a complete statue can be visualized from the small resting Herakles found near the theater and agora complex at Side in Pamphylia, on the southern coast of Asia Minor, in 1947.¹³ The excavator, Professor A.M. Mansel, has associated the Herakles at Side with the school of Aphrodisias, and the same city famous for its sculptors in Caria may have produced the fragment brought to Boston from Rome before the American Civil War, as well as the small statue long in the Museum at Berkeley (California) from Aydin (Tralles), an Argive city halfway back down the Maeander River from Aph-

1486.

¹³ A.M. Mansel, *AA* 1956, cols. 41ff, fig. 6; idem, *Die Ruinen von Side* (Berlin 1963) 21, 24, fig. 10 (as related to the "School of Aphrodisias"); the "purer," Lysippic statue from the Gymnasium at Salamis on Cyprus forms a regional contrast in decorative, "export" statuary since Side and Salamis were on the same Greek imperial trade route toward the Syrian coast. (See E. Sjöqvist, *Lysippos*, 30, fig. 16; also, above, Group One, Number 4.)

rodisias to Ephesos. (pl. 54, fig. 8a, b) Exaggerated poses, bunches of knotted muscles, and distorted limbs characterize the group, one composed of statues evidently created to adorn the public areas and, doubtless, private estates of Greek imperial cities along the Mediterranean coast and in the Aegean or Anatolian hinterlands of Asia Minor. That at least one version, the head and shoulders in Boston, was found in Italy, demonstrates the widespread popularity of the type, an accolade also accorded all major groups of the Weary Herakles.¹⁴

The Boston Herakles and the more complete statues in this local, Greek imperial style depart, in an understandably post-Pergamene fashion, as far as any Lysippic representations of the hero do from the feeling for ideal grandeur and the careful plasticity inherent in the large heads modelled on the statue made by Lysippos shortly before 316 B.C., presumably for his native city of Sikyon. The magnificent marble fragment, already mentioned and fully published when in the Kunstmuseum at Basel, best illustrates the differences between the ultimate prototype and its sensitive translations into marble, on one hand, and these manneristic, overly-decorative statues from ateliers in Asia Minor on the other.¹⁵

CONCLUSIONS FROM THE LISTS OF COPIES

No full-sized bronze fragment or copy of any version of the Weary Herakles has survived. Full-scale marble copies, fragments or whole statues, have been documented for all the major groups dependent on the lost bronze or bronzes by Lysippos. The big marbles give the best idea of the figure's grandeur. The bronze statuettes record the minute details of style and iconography. The small statues in rustic materials and provincial styles illustrate how widely recensions could vary from

¹⁴ The small, muscular Herakles of exaggerated stance, so popular in Asia Minor, spun off variations of its own, with or more likely without portrait features. One of these, like the statue from Side and carved in Pentelic (?) marble (height as preserved: 0.48 m.), was in the possession of Münzen und Medaillen A.G. in September 1973. The left arm at the shoulder, the head and most of the neck, the right arm from the middle of the upper arm, the right leg at the upper hip, and the left leg from below the knee are now missing. The small statue was once restored; an iron dowel remains in the neck. The left hand was on the hip, not on the club. The figure has the characteristic tight muscles and was conceived in an exceptionally exaggerated style.

¹⁵ J. Dörig, *AM* 71 (1956) 180-92; compare also G.M.A. Richter, *Catalogue of Greek Sculptures*, 76-77, nos. 129-31, the remarks therein on various Hellenistic versions of Graeco-Roman copies of the Lysippic-Farnese type in the collection of

the prototypes and the ultimate original. These statues also prove that the popularity of the Weary Herakles extended to the physical and intellectual peripheries of the Greek and Roman imperial worlds.

Group Two, the Hellenistic (probably Pergamene) version of the Lysippic archetype, has proven to be, by far, the most popular in number and diversity of copies. This is doubtless because the Hellenistic statues were available to the copyists in major centers, such as Athens, while the statue or statues by Lysippos may not have been visited so frequently at Sikyon or Argos. Also, Graeco-Roman taste favored Hellenistic recastings of traditional subjects over their purer, less-exciting fourth century B.C. models. Group Three (the Farnese Hercules and its forerunners) and Group Four (the statues adapted as portraits) were too overwhelming or too topical to enjoy the popularity accorded the Hellenistic statues and statuettes in all media. The manneristic little marble statues from the school of Aphrodisias were also too far removed in their own special ways from the main Lysippic current to share the universality of the Hellenistic Herakles, which was hardly a drastic modification of what Lysippos originally intended.

MIRROR REVERSALS OF THE VARIOUS TYPES

The mirror reversals of the Weary Herakles, although much fewer in number, go through the same chronological progression from Lysippos in the fourth century B.C. to Glykon of Athens in the late Antonine or Severan periods. Although an awkward, relatively modest work of sculpture, the small marble statue in the Chania Museum on Crete reflects a prototype of the fourth century B.C.¹⁶ The marble statuette in the Walters Art

the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. In June 1973 a marble statuette of the manneristic, muscular type, associated here with southwest Asia Minor, was being offered at auction (on 9 July, as lot no. 177) by Sotheby and Co. in London. The head, with considerable thrillwork, had been broken and reset; it may have been added to the body in post-Antique times. Another small statue of the exaggerated type from southwest Asia Minor was sold in London, also by Sotheby and Co., 4 May 1970, p. 62, no. 168. This broken and repaired torso with left leg to the knee, and right arm, is 0.584 m. in height; whitish marble has been used.

¹⁶ C. Vermeule, *The Burlington Magazine* 110 (1968) 552. Chania Museum, no. 41. The lower half of the support (heavy club and lion's-skin) is missing from a line with the fingers of the right hand; a second (tree-trunk) support joins the left leg from plinth to knee, all originally accenting the statue's stiffness.

Gallery, Baltimore, corresponds to the Aphrodisian sub-type of the Side and Tralles (Berkeley) statues, with mannered muscles everywhere.¹⁷ (pl. 54, fig. 9) Finally, the Pergamene Hellenistic (Newby Hall) statues have their mirror counterparts in statues such as the lifesized (?) marble which was at Spink and Son, London, in the period not long before the Second World War.¹⁸ (pl. 54, fig. 10)

So far, to our knowledge, no later Hellenistic or Roman, freestanding mirror reversal has come to light with the broad, disjointed shoulders and torso of the Farnese Hercules, unless the fragments of a second colossus found near Glykon's statue in the Baths of Caracalla belong to such a replica.¹⁹ In addition, no such backwards composition has been seen with a head which might be classed as a portrait of the ill-starred Emperor Commodus. Such portraits on all these types of Herakles came into popularity during the last two, mad years of his rule or during his dynastic rehabilitation under Septimius Severus.

MAJOR VARIATIONS ON THE LYSIPPIC THEME

Other late Hellenistic "rococo" or Graeco-Roman variations on the Weary Herakles theme include a Herakles with the lion's-skin worn on head and shoulders,²⁰ Eros as Herakles,²¹ and even the drunken Silenus with the attributes of Herakles arranged in this fashion.²²

In every phase and period of the Weary Herakles,

¹⁷ Accession no. 23.65. H.: 0.257 m. From the Dattari collection and therefore presumably from Egypt. Collections de Feu M. Jean P. Lambros d'Athènes et de M. Giovanni Dattari du Caire, *Antiquités Égyptiennes Grecques et Romaines* (Paris, Hotel Drouot, 17-19 June 1912) 40, no. 336; F.P. Johnson, *Lysippos*, 199, no. 26. Miss Dorothy K. Hill kindly informs me that the levelling of the neck and the dowel hole appear to be ancient.

¹⁸ Photo A.C. Cooper, London, no. 20469. Compare S. Reinach, *Répertoire de la statuaire grecque et romaine*, II, 1 (Paris 1897) 209, no. 3 ("Adam 12. Statuette, Suspect."). The statue photographed for Spink and Son has, to my knowledge, not appeared in a museum, a private collection, or a public (auction) sale since the end of the Second World War. It was probably photographed on commission for an owner and remains in the town or country house where it has been since Napoleonic times, as (for example) the sculptures at Londonderry House in London.

¹⁹ E. Paribeni, *Sculture greche*, Museo Nazionale Romano, 25, under no. 26. See also *The Burlington Magazine* 110 (1968) 552, and note 36. Enrico Paribeni identified at least one other reversal among the oversized sculptures from the Baths of Caracalla.

²⁰ *EA*, no. 4063; in a Florentine palazzo. Curiously enough, a Herakles with lion's-skin worn as cap and cloak, forepaws knotted on the chest, is one of the latest survivors from An-

whether leaning to his left or, in reversal, to his right, there are versions, large and small, which go back to the Copenhagen-Boston Herakles of about 360 B.C. This statue, Attic and Polykleitan in its sources, has been shown to have been influenced by grave stelai and votive reliefs of the first half of the fourth century B.C. The motif was a fairly common one, well-known in Attic vase-painting of the Archaic and classical periods. In his creation in bronze of about 320 B.C., Lysippos gave new grandeur, force, and even intimacy to a concept of Herakles well suited to the emotions of Greece just after the age of Alexander the Great.

THE WEARY HERAKLES IN LATE ANTIQUITY

The latest datable appearances of the Weary Herakles in Greek and Roman art are on Roman imperial coins of the last quarter of the third and the first decade of the fourth centuries A.D. From what can be seen of style on these reverse dies, the exaggerated, muscular type of the small statue in the University of California, Berkeley, from southwest Asia Minor has been followed. The head is held erect, looking out in profile rather than down towards the club. The face may be a portrait of the Emperor Commodus (A.D. 180 to 192), who was deified by his Severan successors and who even had Jerusalem (Aelia Capitolina Commodiana) named in his honor between A.D. 201 and 209. Otherwise, the portraits of these numismatic ver-

tiqumy, appearing on a silver bucket in Vienna, made in Constantinople between A.D. 610 and 629. The figure is eclectic, combining a Myronian head with a patently Graeco-Roman body: J. Beckwith, *The Art of Constantinople* (London 1968) 50-51, fig. 65. The artist of the situla probably copied this Weary Herakles from a Greek imperial columnar sarcophagus (as the example mentioned below, in note 32).

²¹ D. Mustilli, *Il Museo Mussolini* (Rome 1939) nos. 1103, 14, pl. 47, no. 189, and list of copies or variants; H. Stuart Jones, *The Sculptures of the Palazzo dei Conservatori* (Oxford 1926) 149, no. 35, pl. 53. There are two excellent examples in marble in the Musée du Louvre ("Cupidon en Hercule"), both about "lifesized" and both shown wearing the lion's-skin on the head, the paws knotted around the neck: S. Reinach, *Répertoire de la statuaire*, I (Paris 1897) 142, nos. 5, 9. One more was once in Berkeley Square, London, in the Lansdowne House collection: S. Reinach, *Répertoire de la statuaire*, I, 359, no. 6; A. Michaelis, *Ancient Marbles in Great Britain* (Cambridge 1882) 449f, no. 57: "Whether Eros is meant is not quite certain; no wings."

²² Christie's Sale, 18 October 1972, 52, no. 187; from the Hope collection at Deepdene, Surrey: S. Reinach, *Répertoire de la statuaire*, I, 466, no. 6; A. Michaelis, *Ancient Marbles in Great Britain*, 286, no. 18, with probable older provenance in Italy and remarks on the exaggerated aspects of the parody.

sions of the Weary Herakles may be intended to represent the ruling, Late Antique emperor.²³

The coins include:

1. *Aureus* of Carinus (283 to 285). The Weary Herakles stands on a small groundline on the reverse. The inscription VIRTVS AVGG emphasizes the hero's connections with the imperial virtues.²⁴ (pl. 55, fig. 11)
2. Bronze *foliis* of Maximinus Daza as Augustus in the East, struck at Antioch in Syria about May 310 to May 311. The Weary Herakles is crude and ill-proportioned, the results of sloppy craftsmanship by the die-cutter. Here, as far as can be possibly surmised from a worn coin the size of a shilling or a quarter, the figure was intended to be a portrait of the Tetrarch whose rule centered around Alexandria in Egypt. If not copied from a Late Antique statue, or an older image altered to accommodate the portrait of Maximinus, this Weary Herakles was derived from a representation on a Greek imperial coin of Asia Minor in the century from about A.D. 175 to 275.²⁵

The date of the *foliis* is not long before all overtly pagan divinities disappear from the Roman imperial coinage. The first reverse, that of the Emperor Carinus, can be traced back in the third century A.D., to an *aureus* of Gordianus III (238 to 244).²⁶ On these *aurei*, the bearded figure is clearly Hercules rather than Gordian, who was a beardless young man, portrayed on the obverses. From the time of Gordianus III, numismatic representations of the Weary Herakles in the Roman im-

perial series, and its Greek imperial counterpart in the East, can be traced back through the Hellenistic period to the coinage of the immediate successors of Alexander the Great.

Finally, a barbaric double (?) *aureus* of Gallienus (260 to 268) features an unusual Herakles on the VIRTVS AVGVSTI reverse. A portrait of the emperor may have been intended, but the style is too rustic to say for certain.²⁷ The figure stands so erect that the die designer's prototype could have been the older resting Herakles, the Copenhagen-Boston type often identified with the earlier work of Lysippos towards the middle of the fourth century B.C.

Carinus (283 to 285) had a younger brother Numerianus (283 to 284), and the AVGG of the reverses with the Weary Herakles as the type figured indicates that they shared the sentiment of imperial Virtue as a common theme. Two superbly-preserved *aurei* of this reverse show how different the statue could be when handled by the same or allied die designers in the imperial mint of Rome.²⁸ (pl. 55, figs. 12a, b, 13a, b) In the first reverse die Herakles seems to be bearded in the Late Antique imperial fashion, a portrait of the Emperor Carinus. Furthermore, he holds the apples of the Hesperides in canonical fashion in his right hand, on his hip. The second reverse clearly follows a different, Hellenistic statuary prototype. Herakles is definitely Herakles, with a heavy head and a full, rich beard. The god places his right hand on his hip, omitting the apples. Thus, it can be shown that even at a date near the end of the pagan antiquity artists in the imperial capital, the seat of art as well as power, were fully aware

powerful obverses and elaborate mythological reverses, shows a mirror reversal of the Herakles in the scene of Hermes (?) and the infant Dionysos near the sources of the Maeander River: *Sammlung von Auloek XVII* (1968) pl. 270, no. 7813; also P.R. Franke, *Kleinasiens zur Römerzeit* (Munich 1968) 51, no. 209.

²⁴ *The Frederick M. Watkins Collection*, Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University (Cambridge, Mass. 1973) 153, no. 170; other references in *Antike Münzen*, Auktion 7, Bank Leu AG (Zurich, 9 May 1973) 51, no. 425, pl. XXIV.

²⁵ C.H.V. Sutherland, R.A.G. Carson (eds.), *The Roman Imperial Coinage*, VI, by C.H.V. Sutherland (London 1967) 639, no. 152, pl. 15.

²⁶ *As Ars Classica Sale XVII* (Geneva 1934) 47, nos. 904, 905, pl. 26.

²⁷ *Sammlung Franz Trau, Münzen der römischen Kaiser* (Vienna 1935) 71, no. 2940, pl. 37.

²⁸ *Antike Münzen*, Auktion 7, Bank Leu AG (Zurich, 9 May 1973) 51, nos. 425 (Carinus), 426 (Numerianus), both pl. XXIV.

²³ Identification of the Late Antique Roman imperial numismatic type of the Weary Herakles with the several statues recorded from Asia Minor is logical, since these provinces featured the figure extensively on local coins in the first three quarters of the third century A.D. For example, a master-die-designer working at Kibyra in Phrygia under the Emperor Antoninus Pius (138 to 161) produced a reverse for a bronze of large (sestertius) size showing a very muscular Herakles, like the sub-group belonging with group four, the underlifesized muscular, decorative statues from southwest Asia Minor. Under Gordian the Third (238 to 244) another, almost-barbaric artist copied the Antonine reverse in a series of bronzes of the same, large (or even larger) size. See *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum, Deutschland, Sammlung von Auloek IX, Phrygien*, Berlin 1964, pl. 122, nos. 3734 (Antoninus Pius), 3748-50 (Gordianus III). The copy at Kibyra was distinguished by a small, draped herm in front of the hero's club, doubtless to indicate this particular statue stood in or near the municipal gymnasium. A curious, painterly medallion large bronze reverse of the Koinon of Thirteen Ionian Cities under Antoninus Pius, one of a series with similar

of the different somewhat-complexes.

For all the divine titles of the emperor, the title of Augustus Valerius Maximianus Senior Augustus there are not many. Most of those are vignettes of the pre-reform bronze Hercules. There is a reverse with the legend.²⁹ The gilded aureus of Numerianus's rule particular hero of the overblown colossus in Naples. The two senior *aurei* of the *aureus* die in northern Italy (284 to 305), e.g., the aureus Herculeus.

Clearly borrowed from the coinage of the offer nothing. Herakles in a indications that Herakles had antiquity. Modern for the survival and, naturally Italian High

EPILOGUE

The Weary

²⁹ H.A. Mattingly, *Roman Imperial Coinage*, V, no. 439.

³⁰ *Sammlung F*

³¹ *Sammlung F*

³² Mary Comstock Vermeule, Dietrich v

in the preparation will form the basis and variants of the appearance (Group Three) of in Egypt (as part of the Princeton Museum at Princeton) "catalogue of ancient minor arts. See K. P. Peter's *Cathedra*," Prof. Weitzmann's man figures to t

of the different statues involved in the long, past, somewhat-complicated history of the Weary Herakles.

For all the tributes to Hercules engendered by the divine title assumed for Caius Marcus Aurelius Valerius Maximianus during his first reign as Senior Augustus (A.D. 286 to 305), it is surprising there are not more coin types featuring the hero. Most of those which do survive give statuesque vignettes of the commonest labors of Herakles. A pre-reform bronze Antoninianus displays the Farnese Hercules in sketched-out, indifferent form as a reverse within the traditional VIRTUS AVGG legend.²⁹ The gold *aurei* of the early phase of Maximianus's rule present either the relatively-slim, muscular hero of the small statues from Asia Minor or the overblown figure best known from the marble colossus in Naples.³⁰ Again, both legends deal with the two senior emperors' Herculean virtue. A mediocre *aureus* die, mint of Ticinum (modern Pavia in northern Italy), is also recorded for Diocletian (284 to 305), early in his joint reign with Maximianus Herculeus.³¹

Clearly borrowed from better versions in the coinage of the previous generation, these reverses offer nothing new to the last years of the Weary Herakles in ancient art. These coin types were indications that the visual admiration of the Weary Herakles had run its course in the arts of Antiquity. Modern critics have had to look elsewhere for the survival of this figure into the Middle Ages and, naturally, for its ultimate revival in the Italian High Renaissance.

EPILOGUE

The Weary Herakles fashioned by Lysippos at

²⁹ H.A. Mattingly, E.A. Sydenham (eds.), *The Roman Imperial Coinage*, V, Part II, by P.H. Webb (London 1933) 270, no. 439.

³⁰ *Sammlung Franz Trau*, 94, nos. 3428, 3452, pl. 41.

³¹ *Sammlung Franz Trau*, 92, no. 3348.

³² Mary Comstock, Heinz Herzer, William Peck, Emily Vermeule, Dietrich von Bothmer, and Herbert Cahn have helped in the preparation of this study. These observations and notes will form the basis of a full analysis of all traceable replicas and variants of the Weary Herakles.

The appearance of two variations of the Farnese figure (Group Three) on the rectangular bronze plaque from Galjub in Egypt (as part of the Hildesheim treasure), in the Art Museum at Princeton, New Jersey, gives evidence of how the ancients "catalogued" the statues, for dissemination in the minor arts. See K. Weitzmann, "The Heracles Plaques of St. Peter's Cathedral," *The Art Bulletin* 55 (1973) 4-6, fig. 4. Prof. Weitzmann has related these Hellenistic or Graeco-Roman figures to those in very high relief on Greek imperial

the outset of the Hellenistic age became one of the most popular, most utilized monuments of Greek sculpture in the later history of Antiquity. The influence of the statue can be traced from its own time, through the Pergamene age from 250 to 150 B.C., to the end of the pre-Roman imperial period, and ultimately, beyond Caracalla (ruled A.D. 211 to 217), to the Tetrarchs at the beginning of the fourth century, on the eve of the Christian phase of the Roman Empire. The statue, in its several forms, was famous in painting, in marble reliefs, on coins and medallions, and even as a statuesque element in the midst of an elaborate Roman imperial composite capital. The original and its first Hellenistic prototypes gave birth to varied versions, some patently bizarre, in later Hellenistic and Graeco-Roman times. These included Herakles wearing the lion's-skin over his head, Herakles resting in mirror reversal to the basic prototypes, drunken Silenus parodying the Weary Herakles, and even little Eros posed as the Farnese Hercules, wearing or holding the hero's attributes or "spoils." As a popular artistic vent for the imagination of the ancients, the Lysippic Herakles had few rivals.³²

CONCLUSIONS

As a thorough indication how the ancients grasped and exploited a composition, a sculpture, or a sculptural motif, the Lysippic Herakles had few peers over six hundred years of Greek and Roman art. Furthermore, the Weary Herakles as a concept in freestanding sculpture, relief, and painting excited men's perceptions from Alexander the Great's time to the end of pagan Antiquity.³³ Lysip-

sarcophagi, good intermediaries between the cult-images and the minor arts. The sarcophagi tend to record unusual variations of the Weary Herakles, as the columnar example from the Mattei collection in Rome showing a statuesque figure with lion's-skin worn as a cap and club resting on a bovine head: S. Reinach, *Répertoire de reliefs grecs et romains*, III (Paris 1912) 298, no. 1. The Weary Herakles in the center of the strigilar sarcophagus of Marcus Aurelius Bassus and his wife, a large fragment found in 1940 in excavation along the Via Praenestina near Rome and dated in the late Severan period, is the muscular little Greek imperial hero from Asia Minor. He stands in the Gardens of the Hesperides, leans on skin and club, and holds his bow in the relaxed, lowered left hand. The curly head is well rendered, in the Hellenistic traditions of the Greek East: *JHS* 77 (1957) 15, fig. 10.

³³ That the addition of the infant Telephos to representations of the Weary Herakles is a post-Pergamene modification (F.P. Johnson, *Lysippos*, 202-203) finds further confirmation in the fact that baby Telephos and the hind were added to

pos was ever the right sculptor in the right place for his age. While Aristotle expanded men's minds into material affairs and emotional expressions, so certain fourth-century painters and sculptors, led by Skopas or Lysippos, performed Procrustian experiments on Greek feelings for the visual arts. The Weary Herakles became a semi-divine weather-vane of the naturalistic, mind-moving phase of Hellenistic and Graeco-Roman art.

Almost every later great Greek and Roman sculptor, painter, and even architect felt a need for reference to the Weary Herakles in his own terms, with respect to his own age. Whether larger or smaller, more baroque or more ideal statues of Herakles were created, whether the tired hero be-

Edward Perry Warren's well-preserved, miniature copy of the Herakles identified with Myron (M.F.A., no. 14.733). The edge of the child's cloth-lined basket, formerly taken for the

came a part of public mural decoration (Herculeum) or secondary architectural carving (Rome and Lepcis Magna), the Lysippic Herakles moved as a constant yet changing theme throughout the art of Antiquity and the early Middle Ages. With the disintegration of traditional pagan, Hellenic and Roman values in the ancient world, the Weary Herakles came to stand as a symbol of man's salvation, or disappointment in same, through divine labor. The Weary Herakles clearly survived in certain forms of art through the Middle Ages. He could then go on to become a major symbolic factor in the Renaissance and later Classical, humanistic epochs.

MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS, BOSTON

waters of a sacred spring, survives on the plinth of this late Hadrianic to early Antonine marble: W. Fuchs, *Die Skulptur der Griechen*, 73, 75, fig. 67.

In Gr
when of
corner c
usually s
chipped
This ma
bevels or
work in

Moreo
which si
criterion
come in
on the s
a new ru
strong ev
laying th
sides it i
coming
evidence,
state a ru
with the
enable us
tion of a
from pry

Applyi
have bee
proach of
pattern c
was to be
taneously
corner dia
larity of
existence
work into
exactly on
sion, not
that work
gressively
on the fa
points wh
only two
the labour
laia, how
a large n
bility of t
on each w
than usua

¹ A. Orland
(Athens 1959-



FIG. A. Meleager after Skopas. From Egypt, perhaps Alexandria. The Brooklyn Museum. Photo: Museum, courtesy of Bernard V. Bothmer



FIG. 3a

FIG. 3. Lysippic Herakles: Group One. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art. Acc. no. 18.145.14. Rogers Fund. Photo: Museum



FIG. 2. Lysippic Herakles: Group One. Nicosia, Cyprus Museum. Photo: Department of Antiquities, courtesy Vassos Karageorghis and Kyriakos Nicolaou



FIG. 1. Lysippic Herakles: Group One. Basel, Antikenmuseum. Photo: Claire Niggli



FIG. 3b



FIG. 4a

FIG. 4. Lysippic Herakles: Group Two. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art. Acc. no. 27.122.18. Fletcher Fund. Photo: Museum



FIG. 4b



FIG. 4c

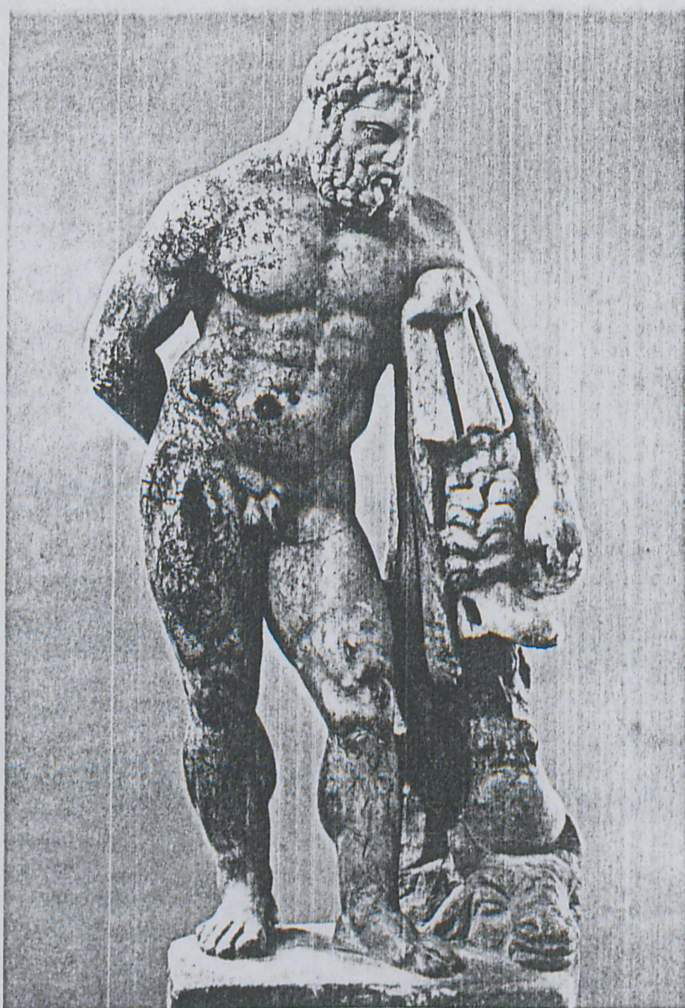


FIG. 5. Lysippic Herakles: Group Two. Detroit Institute of Arts. Photo: Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Archives

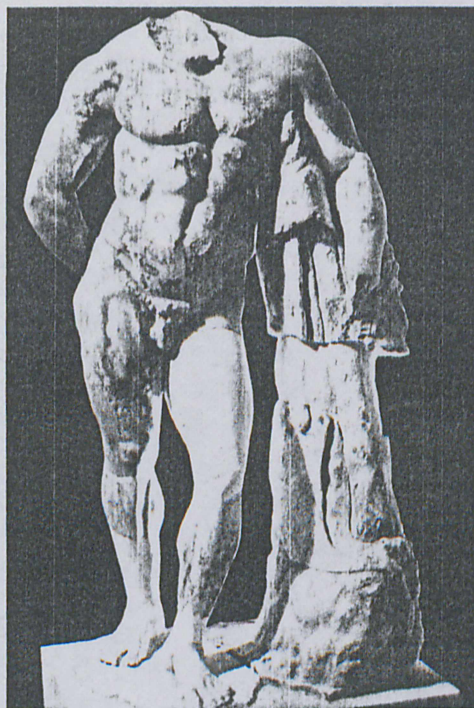


FIG. 6. Lysippic Herakles: Group Three (Farnese Hercules Type). Argos Museum. Photo: Museum



FIG. 7a



FIG. 7b

FIG. 7. Lysippic Herakles: Group Four (Influenced by Portraits of Commodus). Boston, Museum of Fine Arts. Gift of Charles C. Perkins. Photo: Museum

FIG. 8a

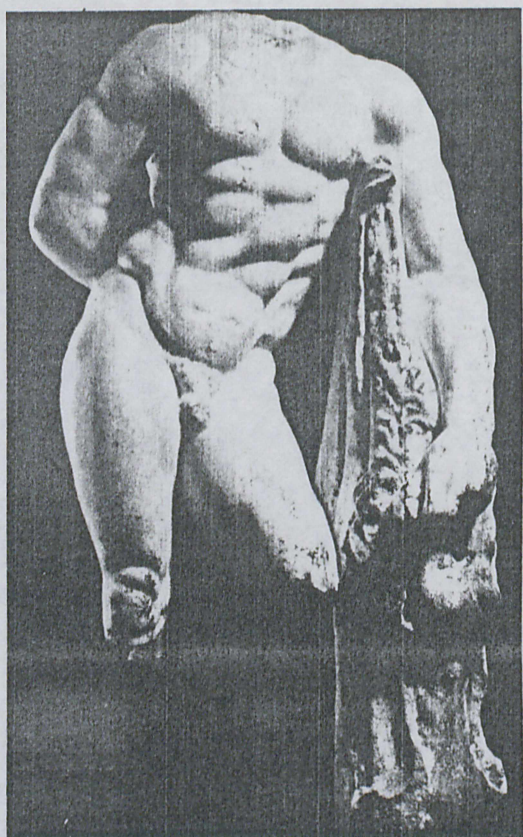


FIG. 8. Lysippic Herakles from Asia Minor. Berkeley (California), University of California, University Art Museum (Museum of Art and Archaeology). Exhibited on loan from the Lowie Museum of Anthropology. Photo: Museum



FIG. 8b. Reverse

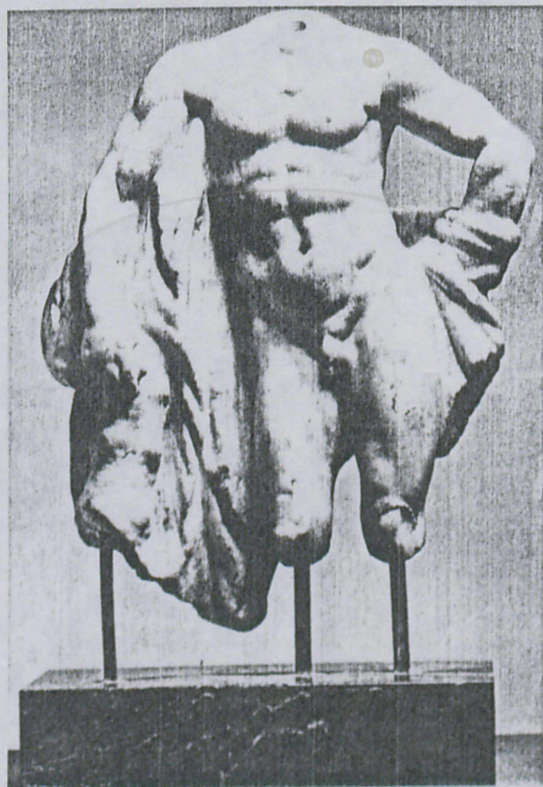


FIG. 9. Reversed Lysippic Herakles. Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery. Photo: Museum, courtesy of Dorothy K. Hill



FIG. 10. Reversed Lysippic Herakles. London, once Spink and Son. Photo: A.C. Cooper, courtesy of R. Forrer

FIG. 8a

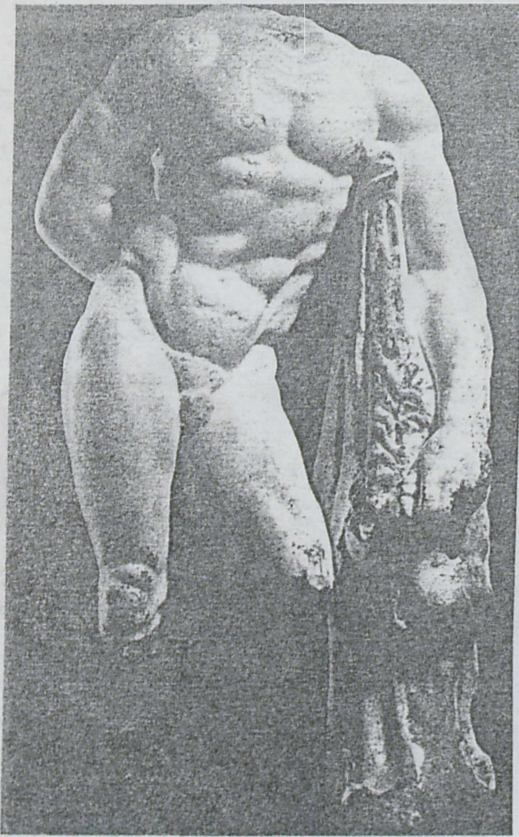


FIG. 8. Lysippic Herakles from Asia Minor. Berkeley (California), University of California, University Art Museum (Museum of Art and Archaeology). Exhibited on loan from the Lowie Museum of Anthropology. Photo: Museum



FIG. 8b. Reverse

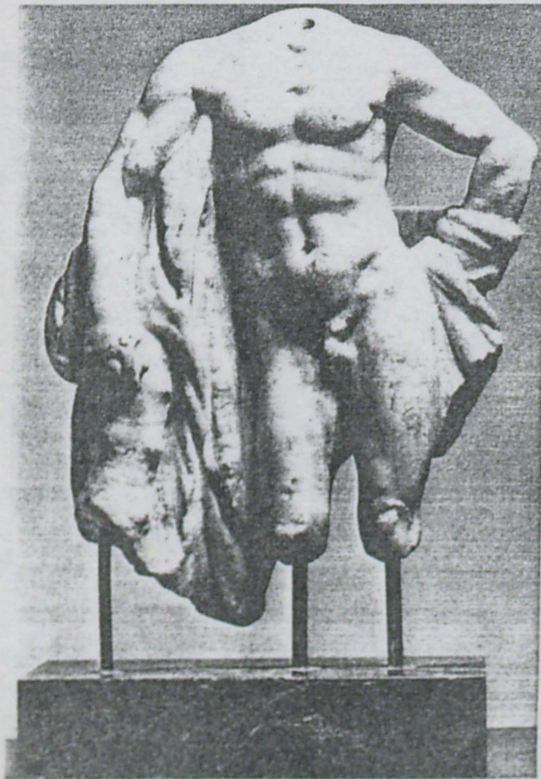


FIG. 9. Reversed Lysippic Herakles. Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery. Photo: Museum, courtesy of Dorothy K. Hill

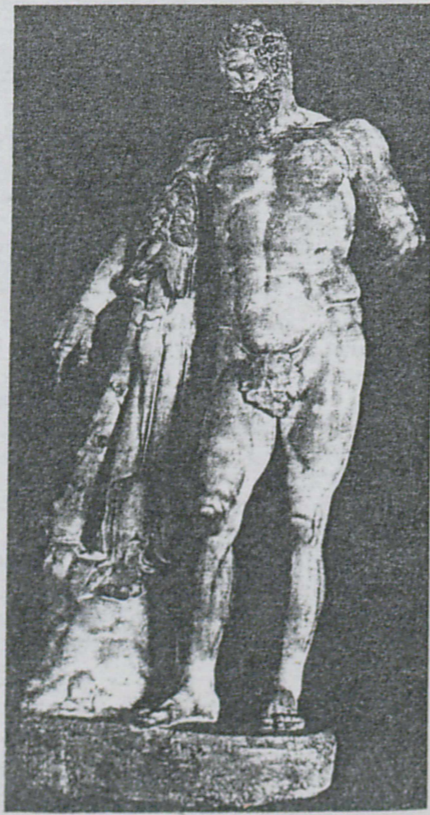


FIG. 10. Reversed Lysippic Herakles. London, once Spink and Son. Photo: A.C. Cooper, courtesy of R. Forrer



FIG. 13a



FIG. 11. Gold Aureus of the Emperor Carinus (283 to 285). Cambridge (Massachusetts), Fogg Art Museum, The Frederick M. Watkins Collection. Acc. no. 1972.242. Photo: Museum, courtesy of Jill Brinnon



FIG. 12b



FIG. 12a



FIG. 13b

FIG. 13. Lysippic Herakles, from a Hellenistic Model. Aureus of Numerianus (283 to 284). Provenance and Photo: as Previous

FIG. 12. Lysippic Herakles, Apples (?) in hand. Aureus of Carinus (283 to 285). Zurich, Bank Leu AG (Auction 7). Photo: Numismatic Department of Bank Leu Ltd., courtesy of Mrs. Silvia Hurter

0090 | 1/1575610

0090 | 4/310 9950



FIG. 11. Gold Aureus of the Emperor Carinus (283 to 285). Cambridge (Massachusetts), Fogg Art Museum, The Frederick M. Watkins Collection. Acc. no. 1972.242.
Photo: Museum, courtesy of Jill Brinnon

FIG. 13a



FIG. 12a

FIG. 12b

FIG. 13b

FIG. 12. Lysippic Herakles, Apples (?) in hand. Aureus of Carinus (283 to 285). Zurich, Bank Leu AG (Auction 7). Photo: Numismatic Department of Bank Leu Ltd., courtesy of Mrs. Silvia Hurter

FIG. 13. Lysippic Herakles, from a Hellenistic Model. Aureus of Numerianus (283 to 284). Provenance and Photo: as Previous

Boğaziçi Üniversitesi

Arşiv ve Dokümantasyon Merkezi

Jale İnan Arşivi



JALARC0300114